CHAPTER 4

Oral Style

Certain distinctive features have become evident from analysis of tapes of Belston speakers. These features, which include, for instance, deliberate repetition and use of proverbs, appear to be typical of, if not essential to the manner of delivery of some speakers. The stylistic tendencies mentioned in this section were felt to be so important that they could not be ignored.

Style is used here to refer to those aspects of speech which belong to form and expression rather than to the substance of the thought or to such structural aspects of speech as pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and syntax. Style relates to the manner in which communication is made rather than the information which is conveyed. The wide scope of this definition allows inclusion of various facets of Belston language not mentioned elsewhere in this study.

Particular attention is paid here to the style of the raconteur, as distinct from that of other speakers. For present purposes constructive comment on style can most easily be based on that of narrative for the following reasons. Firstly, distinctive stylistic tendencies seem more important and more apparent in narrative than in conversation and other speech situations.[1] A story can depend for its effectiveness as much

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1. One exception to this is phatic communion, in which the ideas can be immaterial while great importance is given to the manner of the utterance. Some aspects of phatic communion are considered on pp. 280, 281.

on the manner in which it is told as on the subject matter. Secondly, story-telling is well developed among Selston miners and offers considerable scope for oracy to reveal itself in long, uninterrupted segments of speech.

Reference was made in Chapter 1[1] to the truth of C. Day Lewis's observation that legend is richest in close-knit communities. The coal mine has been a strong influence in creating such a community in Selston, particularly among the men. Legends (stories told as true or believed to be true) about Selston's inhabitants, past and present, have flourished, perhaps providing, for the men at least, a degree of diversion from the monotonous and dangerous occupation of mining and at the same time revealing narrative skill and a characteristic dry sense of humour. Narrative art is not confined to legend in Selston. Most of the informants chosen for this study are raconteurs who talk unselfconsciously and with facility. Some of them have the faculty of narrating in a dramatic way not only legends but personal memories of actual events that have no legendary significance. As one might expect, legends, which are told with variations by many, acquire in the process of many tellings, a dramatic and effective style, but in Selston even memorats (accounts of personal experience) can be interspersed with dramatic snatches of remembered conversation and the occasional proverb, as if they were well-known narratives. They take on a kind of apparent permanence in

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1. See p. 25.

paralleling similar traditional narratives in form.

"The style is the man" and an individual's style has much in common with his personality. It will reflect not only what could be termed the collective personality of his community but much of his individual personality. The following examples of style will therefore be to some extent idiolectal. They are, however, intended to be as typical as possible of an oral style which appears to be common to the area.

Any attempt to analyse the complex personality of a human being purely by viewing its separate facets in isolation would tend to destroy the total impression of its identity. It would be similarly unfortunate to begin an analysis of the oral style of Selston raconteurs by considering its various features in isolation without first trying to give some impression of their total effect. A complete tale will therefore be used to introduce the analysis and illustrate the complexity of a typical raconteur's oral style. From this the different aspects will be categorized and further examples given. The tale referred to is the account in Chapter 8 of the drowning of the geese at Bagthorpe (pp.316, 317). The story tells how geese were drowned in their coops during a storm. The coops were situated by a brook near a group of houses called the "Stocking Heel" and the storm caused the brook to overflow its banks and rise above the level of the coops. The story is well known throughout Selston parish and, as the speaker suggests, has become an instance of blason

populaire associated with Bagthorpe people. It is interesting that in terms of blason populaire the speaker, an inhabitant of Bagthorpe, appears to be telling the tale against his own group, although he still attributes it to an area a little way down the road, "down against the Dixies Arms".

The Bagthorpe Geese

Why do they speak of Bagthorpe as the place where the geese were drowned?

a: | ðɪs əz trɨu wɔt ɑm 'tɛ̈lɪn ðɪ || ðɪ 'dra:ndəd?‿gɛɪs ||
Aye, this is true what I'm telling you. They drowned the geese. The

gɛɪs wəz 'dɛf^{ə}nət?lɪ dra:^{ə}nd ɪə || ən äl tɛl ðɪ wɪə ðɪ wɨ dra:nd ðɪ wɨ dra:nd ɪnt?
geese were definitely drowned here, and I'll tell you where they were drowned, they were drowned in the

'stɔkɪn ɛɨɨ || na'‿t? 'stɔkɪn ɛɨɨ || ðɪ wɨ θrɛɪ ɔ fɔər 'a:zəz ðɪə ||
Stocking Heel. Now the Stocking Heel - there were three or four houses there,

da'n ə'gɛnt? 'dɪksɨz ɑəmz || wɛ̈ɨt? brɔk rɔnz da:n ət? frɔnt ə ðɛɪz 'a:zəz ||
down against the Dixies Arms. Well, the brook runs down at the front of these houses,

ən ðɐ wɛnt? da:n ə 'litl̩ bit əv ə 'dʒɪtɪ | ðɪ wɨ 'lɔuə ðənt? rɔud ||
and you went down a little bit of a jitty - they were lower than the road -

ən ða wɛnt? da:^{ə}n ə 'lɪtl̩ bɪt əv ə 'dʒɪtɪ tə gɛt?‿tə ðɛɪz | θrɛɪ ə fɔər 'ɐ:zəz || wɛ̈ɨ |
and you went down a little bit of a jitty to get to these three or four houses. Well,

ðɪ's əz 'aktʃəlɪ wɔt 'apn̩ wɛn ðɪ 'dra:ᵊndəd͡ʔ gɛɪs
this is actually what happened when they drowned the geese

əʔ 'bagθəp | ðɛ́ sɛ̨ɪ wɪ dɑz ðɛɪ kɑm frɔm | ɔɔ
at Bagthorpe - they say, "Where do you come from? Oh,

'bagθəp || ða kɑmz frɔm wɪ ðɪ 'dra:ndəd͡ʔgɛɪs ðɛn ||
Bagthorpe; you come from where they drowned the geese then."

a: || wɛ̈ɬ || ðeɪz gɛɪs ðɪ wɪ ɪn ðə kɪuks ||
Aye; well; these geese, they were in their coops,

əf͡ʔ nɛɪf͡ʔ || ən dɪ wɛ́ tə'rɪfɪk stɔ:m | rɛ̨ɪn | ə
at night, and there was a terrific storm, rain, a

tə'rɪfɪk 'da:npɔə || ənf͡ʔ brɔk ɔə 'flo:d ɪf͡ʔs bæŋks ||
terrific downpour; and the brook over-flowed its banks,

ən ɪf͡ʔ wɛnt ɔəf͡ʔ tɔp ə ðɛɪz kɪups || ən ðɪ wɪ
and it went over the top of these coops, and they were

dra:nd ɪnf͡ʔ kɪups ||| ðats | ða? | ðats
drowned in the coops. That's ... that's ... that's

a:f͡ʔ gɛɪs wɛ́ dra:nd əf͡ʔ 'bagθəp bət ɪf͡ʔs 'dɛfə? |
how the geese were drowned at Bagthorpe, but it's defi ...

'dɛfɛ́nəf͡ʔlɪ trɯu |||
definitely true.

Repetition and the apparent redundancy of phrases are noticeable aspects of the style of this tale. The fact that the geese were drowned is recorded nine times in a speech of just over 160 words. The "Stocking Heel" is mentioned twice; the group of houses is mentioned three times and in two of those cases the phrase "two or three

houses" is used; the words, "thou went down a little bit of a jitty" are repeated twice; there are four assertions that the story is true - 1. "This is true what I'm telling you", 2. "The geese was definitely drowned here", 3. "This is actually what happened ...", 4. "... but it's definitely true".

In twentieth century literature, frequent repetition tends to be regarded as a fault but the narrative style of this tale is effective, building the tale up to the climax when "they were drowned in the coops". As the speaker introduces this story, the effect of his repetition in the first thirty words is to impress upon the hearer from the start the truth of the event, or at least to suspend his disbelief. The next few lines deal with the topography of the event, and these details are introduced so as to lend credence to the tale: "and I'll tell thee where they were drowned ..." The topography is structured, the viewpoint moving from the general to the particular. First comes the general point that they were drowned at Bagthorpe, "The geese was definitely drowned here" (the interview took place in Bagthorpe). The area is then narrowed to the "Stocking Heel" - the local name for a group of houses where stockings were once made. Since the houses no longer exist, the speaker makes their position more definite by stating their proximity to a local landmark, the "Dixies Arms", and the hearer seems almost to be led up to the houses by the little "jitty" which is described. This detail and the mention of the running brook add movement to the description.

At a point where interest has been aroused, the speaker digresses to bring in the legendary significance of the incident, recalling the fact that Bagthorpe people are teased with having come from a place where such a peculiar event could happen. In this community where many members have achieved legendary status through actions attributed to them which can only provoke laughter at their expense, one might expect people to be able to laugh at their own group and, as stated before, in this rendering of the tale the idea that the incident did occur a little way down the road prevents the speaker from feeling too closely associated with the immediate neighbourhood where the geese were drowned. The reference to the teasing is presented dramatically with the imaginary words of an outsider speaking to a Bagthorpe person, and for the sake of brevity the speech of the Bagthorpe man is not quoted but effectively implied in the wording of the questioner.

The narrative is quickly taken up again and an atmosphere of imminent disaster is suggested - it is night, the geese are in their coops, the storm rises and so does the brook, overflowing its banks and submerging the coops. Because the events are mentioned in the order in which they happened, the climax is more effective.

The stylistic features of this legend reflect some of the general narrative tendencies of Selston speakers which are to be dealt with here. For convenience they will be classified under the following headings:

1. Forms of introduction (to the telling of tales).
2. Redundancy and repetition.
3. Gesture.
4. Declamatory delivery.
5. Juxtaposition, analogy, balance and antithesis.
6. Proverbial language in narrative.
7. Dramatic use of quoted speech.
8. Use of the non past or historical present tense.
9. Phatic communion.

Such aspects of style as pauses, emphases and pitch changes are not sufficiently distinct in Selston from the usage of other areas to make examination of them worthwhile here.

1. Forms of introduction

The telling of tales arises most naturally out of conversation involving reminiscences of old times and of characters and stories known in youth. Often, merely mentioning the name of a well-remembered eccentric or wit is sufficient to set off a sequence of tales about that person or about others like him. The stories are usually preceded by an assertion of truth. In the tale about the geese, examined above, the speaker needs to gain the belief of the listener. He does this at the start by insisting three times that the story is true. At the end of the story he recapitulates the initial assertion of truth. The statement by an informant that a story is true

merely means that the informant believes it to be true. The story told by Informant E[1] in which the Underwood parson says, "What a wonderful job you and the Lord have made of this garden," and receives a witty reply, is introduced by, "Now, this is true". It has, however, in a different context, been heard on the radio since the date that the tale was recorded. This is an example of how extraneous or widespread material can be assimilated and adapted by the folklore of a particular area and become associated with a colourful character about whom other tales are told.

To return to the story of the geese, the events are introduced by setting the scene. The shift of scene from the general to the particular as the tale progresses has already been mentioned. Reference will be made in Section 6, "Proverbial language in narrative", to this speaker's tendency to introduce a topic with a well chosen proverb.

2. Redundancy and repetition

The use of repetition and apparent redundancy of phrases in the speech about the Bagthorpe geese was noted as a device to emphasise the truth of the story.[2] This is typical of Selston raconteurs. Repeated phrases which may seem redundant often add to the impression or information that the speaker wishes to convey. Although repetition can signify lack of

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1. Chapter 8, pp. 362, 363.
2. See pp. 264, 265.

fluency, and frequently constitutes phatic communion, the speaker who told the story of the geese uses it as part of his narrative style. In the oral tradition of the past, for instance in Anglo-Saxon recited poetry and in the later ballads, repetition serves to keep the details of the narrative in mind. It is still useful in tale-telling, where the listener has no pages to turn back to refresh his memory visually.

Informant E in the transcriptions[1] tells the following brief tale:

> "I once heard a chap say, 'Missis, thi rhubub (rhubarb) wants roddin.' It were true, that wor. He walked to t'woman's door, and there was rhubub in t'yard, it wor that high. He says, 'Mother, Mrs. Akers, thi rhubub wants roddin!' It had gone up to seed you know. "

Here we are told twice what the man said, the first time to arouse interest and the second to put it into its proper situational context. One of the two terms of address: "Mother, Mrs. Akers", might seem redundant, but the first gives the speech a note of humorous familiarity which helps to characterize the cheerful man, the second reminds us that the woman actually existed since her name is used and makes the tale sound local and real. The desire to emphasise the truth, mentioned under Section 1: Forms of introduction, p. 267 can be seen again in the rhubarb tale: "I once heard ...", "It were true, that wor ...". In the transcriptions in

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1. Chapter 8, pp. 361, 362.

Chapter 8 an example occurs of a deliberate effect of tedium built up by the use of repetition.[1]

3. Gesture

The use of physical gesture is a very minor feature of Selston story telling and occurs in many other dialects and oral styles. It ranges from facial expression to movement of the hands and even the whole body. In the rhubarb tale above, the remark "It were that high" was accompanied by a gesture of the hand to indicate the height. One rather surprising instance of gesture occurred during an interview with a seventy year old retired collier who was reminiscing fluently and describing how "holing" was performed in the pit. He lay down on the floor and went through the strenuous motions of "holing" an imaginary coal face by hacking with an imaginary pick, at the same time describing his actions verbally. Another retired collier told how on his way home from a pub late at night he had deliberately aroused the suspicion of a policeman by creeping past him furtively clutching a hold-all. His acting of the furtive movements during the tale contributed much to its humour.

4. Declamatory delivery

Some speakers seem to calculate the effect of their sentence structure. An example appears in a speech by the raconteur who told the story of the Bagthorpe geese. Like

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1. See Section 8: Use of the non past or historical present tense, p. 279.

Wilfred Owen in his poem "Miners", he compared the dangers of the pit to those of the war-time trench:

> "You're same as a soldier, a soldier in the trenches, and I'm going back now to the First World War, you went on undaunted; comrades would fall at t'side of you, either right hand or left, and it's been same in the mines. I've seen men within a hace of being killed ... I've seen men working; I've seen a stone drop at t'side on 'em that would have killed you as dead as a stone ... "

These sentences seem structured for dramatic effect. The first simile is uttered with an almost periodic cadence, culminating in the point he wishes to emphasise: "you went on undaunted". The words chiefly emphasised by the speaker are "soldier" (stressed vocally and also repeated), "trenches", "undaunted" and "comrades". These words match the speaker's patriotic sentiment, which is reinforced by the consciously balanced phrase "either right hand or left" reminiscent of Tennyson in a similar vein: "Cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them". The speaker concludes with a second simile, apparently spontaneous, but which shows an aptitude for balanced phrasing.

One other example from the same speaker of an almost declamatory speech rhythm is: "Look at your by-ways, look at your footpads across fields, look to Beggarlee, look o'er t'Misk, thou canna find them nowadays they're overgrown up because no bugger walks now".[1]

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1. See Chapter 1, p. 15.

5. Juxtaposition, analogy, balance and antithesis

The use of juxtaposition, analogy, balance and antithesis is widespread in Selston speech and seems fundamental to Selston humour. A collier was heard to ridicule a scatterbrained acquaintance by the use of antithesis: "The first time he went up a ladder was down a well". In the true incident described in Chapter 7[1] of the collier replying to the bus conductress, the old man humorously points out the flaw in the logic of her accusation: "You've got your pipe in your mouth, you must be smoking", by using the antithetical[2] analogy: "I've got my boots on but I'm not walking". When Sir Launcelot Rolleston told the collier Jack Hankin that he had to "stay and meet Lady Maud tonight", the humour of his reply is in the juxtaposition, again involving antithesis, of Mrs. Hankin with Lady Maud: "I've got to meet Lady Hankin tonight".[3] Antithesis is again responsible for the humour in the tale where one collier points to an old-fashioned aircraft and says, "How would you like to be up there with that?" the reply being, "I shouldn't like to be up there without it".[4] These antithetical replies seem to contain elements of bathos. In each case the reply has an analogous structure to the original utterance but the

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1. See p. 312.
2. For a definition of antithesis see H.A. Treble and G.H. Vallins, An ABC of English Usage, Oxford, reprinted with corrections 1961: "Antithesis is a figure of speech in which words or ideas are brought into contrast by being balanced one against another. Bacon is especially fond of antithesis, e.g. "Reading maketh a full man; conference (i.e. conversation) a ready man; and writing (i.e. taking notes) an exact man".
3. See p. 363.
4. See pp. 358, 359.

semantic content is different and debunks or deflates the initial idea by giving a different slant to it. A further example of this is when Tad Housley[1] asked how the stranger knew his name and was told, "I guessed it". He replied, "And tha can guess thy way to Mansfield!" Tad Housley was using repartee as a means of social persuasion. The stranger, a townsman, driving a 'new fantangled car", appeared to address him by his Christian name, thus crossing a powerful linguistic taboo and causing offence. When Bostock and Joe Limb[2] are discussing Bostock's bad tooth and Joe says, "If it were mine I should have it out", Bostock creates humour by a balanced reply, "If it were thy bugger I should have it out". In this example and in some of the others the repartee is almost formulaic in that the reply resembles the original utterance as nearly as possible in vocabulary and word order.

Many local proverbs and witty sayings contain balanced antithetical phrases, e.g. "First up best dressed";[3] "Least said soonest mended" - said after a quarrel or disagreement; "Best first best always" - a proverb to describe a person who wears his best clothes not only on Sunday but every other day. This tendency is not confined to the Selston dialect and occurs in many traditional sayings, e.g. "Waste not, want not". The collier who compared the pit with the war-time trench also spoke of the days when luxuries were scarce:

> "If thou was having bread and cheese thou was having bread an cheese, thou didn't have bread

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1. See p. 376.
2. See pp. 376, 377.
3. See p. 356.

and butter and cheese; and if thou got a bit of boiled ham at the wakes thou didna get any butter on thy bread, thou got a bit of boiled ham on thy plate. And I'll tell you another thing - it's an old saying but it's true - 'thou must eat thy bread and spell at thy cheese' - and by God it's true. "[1]

The clauses about what you got and what you didn't get are balanced, and another device occurs which is found among the most fluent raconteurs - the use of proverbs or local sayings to illustrate a point (incidentally, the proverb about the bread and cheese also contains elements of balance and antithesis).

6. Proverbial language in narrative

The previous section refers to the use of balance and antithesis in Selston proverbs. The use of the proverb enables the speaker to draw upon the wisdom of the community to support his points of view. While the expression of Selston narrators seems to be in some respects rhetorical, this is obviously not an attempt to imitate the deliberately cultivated rhetoric of past ages. It is more likely that the schools of rhetoric attempted to imitate the finer points of the natural art of narrative, which, although much older than studied rhetoric, seems not yet to be extinct in Selston. The essays of Francis Bacon, written in rhetorical style, abound in proverbs and antithesis, both of which are devices used spontaneously by Selston speakers. The speaker who is quoted at length in the previous section had a habit of beginning

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1. See p. 328.

topics with a proverb, introduced with the words "It's an old saying but it's true ..." For instance, he was asked why the local pits were closing and began: "Hens as doesn't lay doesn't pay". This proverb, like those mentioned in the previous section (pp.273,274)contains elements of balance and antithesis. There are other examples of this type of proverb, for instance: "If it's soft it's fat, if it's hard it's that" - a saying distinguishing between obesity and pregnancy; "red hat, no breeches" - a saying which prevents many women from wearing red hats.[1]

Some proverbial sayings draw more on myth and superstition than on local wisdom, for instance: "If your shoes squeak they're not paid for"; "If t'parsley grows well, t'missis is t'boss". Proverbs about good and bad luck fall into a similar category and are better dealt with in Chapter 7 (p. 306) where additional examples of proverbial sayings may be found.

The conversations of some speakers talking about the old days often consist almost entirely of humorous tales in which the humorous incidents or sayings recorded have become so much a part of the local folklore that the tales have a similar effect to the proverbs of other speakers, in drawing upon a fund of common lore to illustrate the things they wish to talk about. If separate speakers wish to talk about a

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1. See Chapter 7, p. 292 for a fuller explanation.

well known character to give an impression of his eccentricity, they will frequently resort to the same tale about him. Mr. Gascoigne the gardener is remembered by several because of his "utchups" - known as "Gaskin's utchups" - giant vegetables of which his garden was so full that they were reputed to cry out "hutch up" to each other.

7. Dramatic use of quoted speech

The dramatic use of quoted speech has been mentioned in the account of the Bagthorpe geese,[1] but many other examples occur as it is a common feature of Selston narrative style, particularly when the subject matter is humorous. The following example, from a single speaker, refers to the illegal practice of using a shovel instead of a screen to load coal:

> "If they catched thee usin' t'shovel when t'deputy come through, tha mun go i' th'office; tha'd have to see t'gaffer ne'er mind what pit tha worked at ...
>
> 'So and so catched thee shovelling yesterday'.
>
> 'Aye'.
>
> 'What has te got to say for thysen?'
>
> 'Well I canna say nowt; he catched me and that's the end on it as far as I'm concerned.'
>
> 'Right, sign here.'
>
> Tha'd sign thy name. Tha might be fined half a crown; tha might be fined a dollar, five shilling, seven and six or ten bob ... "

This is what the colliers appropriately referred to as being "called o'er t'coals".

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1. See pp. 316, 317.

Another example of dramatic quotation is:

"If they could find thee a shift they found thee one, and they might say,

'Thee go and have a shift with George Wagstaff today Albert. He's down that old airway.'

'Which on 'em?'

'Oh, he's down eighteens, and ... there's some clothing down there. Well, go through that clothing. When tha's gone through that there's a couple o' doors; tha'll go through there and old George is working at the back o' them doors. Go and help him ...' "

In these examples the omission of introductory phrases such as [ɛɪ sɛz] 'he says', is most effective. Such phrases tend to obtrude and to remind the listener that the tale is reported, detracting from the sense of immediacy. In the above examples the immediacy of the dialogue puts the listener into the situation being recounted, this effect being reinforced by the raconteur addressing the listener as "you" or "tha": "Tha'd sign thi name"; "If they could find thee a shift ...".

If extended segments of quoted dialogue are not to rely for intelligibility on the narrator's intrusive comments, the raconteur must exercise skilful control of stress, pauses and variation of tone of voice. Such skill is natural to the best raconteurs and implies confidence in the listener's understanding and response. The tendency is well known in literary narratives where a dramatic effect is intended, as in Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner":

'"In mist or cloud, on mast or shroud,
It perched for vespers nine;
Whiles all the night, through fog-smoke white,
Glimmered the white moonshine."

"God save thee, ancient Mariner!
From the fiends, that plague thee thus! -
Why look'st thou so?" - "With my cross-bow
I shot the Albatross". '

Another feature frequently used to enliven quoted speech is mimicry. Tones of voice and eccentric mannerisms are mimicked and even exaggerated, particularly if they are amusing. This makes narrative more entertaining and renders remarks such as [ɛɪ sɛz] unnecessary, because the quoted speaker is easily identifiable. This is a tendency which, once acquired, can last a lifetime. One elderly lady who was brought up in Selston but has lived elsewhere since, nearly always skilfully mimics the speech of any character she quotes either in narrative or conversation.

An informant who was explaining what a boy's first job in the pit was like, provided an effective comment on the relationship between the corporal (in charge) and ganger (boy), not by direct explanation but with a quoted exclamation. The change from explanatory comment to quoted speech is sudden: "He used to take a pony out, you see, and gang tubs to the turn-out, they called it. 'He's in t'tonnout, look sharp!' he says, 'There's t'corporal in t'tonnout shouting and yawping, shouting and yawping[1] 'cos you're a long time!'[2]"

There are many such examples of quoted speech in Chapter 8.

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1. The repetition emphasizes the corporal's impatient and persistent calling. The corporal's shouting seems to be transferred to the other speaker. See Section 2: Redundancy and repetition.
2. See Chapter 8, p. 355.

8. Use of the non-past or historical present tense

The non-past or historical present is frequently used in narrative: "I groans, curses and blinds a minute or two". [ɛɪ sɛz][1] 'he says', precedes and follows quoted speech much more commonly than "he said". Examples are to be found in Chapter 8, for instance: "He turns round to him and says ..."; [2] "Old Luther Coleman on the front row looks at him, he says ...".[3] A mixture of past and non-past forms in the same sentence is not uncommon: [ɛɪ grɪnd ən ɛɪ sɛz] 'he grinned and he says'.[4] A change from the use of the past or past continuous to the use of the non-past can signal a change in tempo in narrative. An example is taken from the story in Chapter 8[5] about Bostock's visit to the barber:

> "He was lathering him and lathering him, and talking and talking and talking, till old Bostock got quite fed up; and there was only him in the shop, and he kept going to the pot, dipping his brush in, and soaping and coming and lathering him. All at once old Bostock jumps up, grabs hold of the towel and wipes t'lather off his face. He says, 'I'll come tomorrow Johnny, to be shaved when you're not so busy'."

Here a deliberate effect of tedium is built up by the use of repetition.[6] The change to non-past adds immediacy, drawing the listener in to the scene to make him think he is present as the events happen. It also reflects the change to sudden action at the climax. This type of transition, before a

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1. For omission of [ɛɪ sɛz], see p. 277.
2. See p. 354.
3. See p. 361.
4. See p. 376.
5. See pp. 377, 378.
6. See Section 2 on Repetition and redundancy, pp. 268-270

climax is similar to that found in narrative verse, for instance, "Tam O'Shanter" by Burns:

"By this time he <u>was</u> cross the ford ...
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
Before him Doon <u>pours</u> all his floods;
The doubling storm <u>roars</u> thro' the woods;
The lightnings flash from pole to pole;
Near and more near the thunders roll. "

9. <u>Phatic communion</u>

This is an important aspect of style concerned with the communication of attitudes and dispositions rather than information, of establishing contact between individuals, or of fitting the information to be conveyed into a socially acceptable context. It is more useful in general speech and conversation than in the telling of tales. The pattern of phatic communion in the dialect is similar to that in other spoken forms of English. For instance, if anger is to be conveyed a speaker might begin, "Now look here," and might in any situation regularly intersperse his speech with "Well," "you know," or "do you see?".

Perhaps the most distinctive use of phatic communion is in greetings, of which the following are examples:

Hey up [ɛɪ'jɔp]
How do? [a: dɪu]
How are you? [a'watə]

These are normally repeated by way of acknowledgment. The following are inquiries about health and require a more informative answer.

How are you blowing? [a:tə'blɔuɪn]
How are you wearing? [a jə 'wɛərɪn]

Typical replies to these are:

Middling (like) ['mɪdlɪn lɒɪk]
Not so bad [nɔn sə bad]

A greeting common among colliers is [ɛut], i.e. 'ought?' 'anything?' 'Is there any news?'; the reply to this is to report any news or if there is none, to say [nɛut] 'nought', 'nothing'. The following instance of phatic communion has been heard in a shop:

1st speaker (entering): "Morning."
2nd speaker: "Morning."
1st speaker: "Owt?"
2nd speaker: "Nowt."
1st speaker (departing): "Morning."
2nd speaker: "Morning."

Other greetings are:

"Are you turning out tonight?" [ɑ: tə 'tɔnɪn æ̈:t̪ʔ͡tə'nɛɪt]
"Sup out of the blue one." [sɑp æ̈:t əf̪ʔ blɪu ən]
(See Informant F, p. 371)

This was a common greeting in public houses in the days when blue pint pots were used as containers for beer. When a friend entered, a collier would offer him a sup out of his pot. The newcomer would have a "good guzzle" and then buy a drink out of which he would allow his friend a "guzzle" in return. If a collier entered and nobody said, "Sup", that was a sure sign he was in the "bad books".

As is to be expected, some persons develop individual forms of phatic communion. One retired collier who visits a friend in the mornings invariably remarks as he leaves, "I'll go and do (i.e. peel) a tater (potato)".